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lish system, while the western settlers had come too late to share in the responsibility of the chief government. When in 1861 the conditions were changed, Baldwin, the "Ulster man," instead of advocating independence, was a sturdy friend of the Union until the alternative of submission was presented to him, when, like a man and a Virginian, he resisted.

NULLIFICATION AND SECESSION IN THE UNITED STATES. A History of the Six Attempts during the First Century of the Republic. *By Edward Payson Powell.* G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London. 1897.

This book is replete with interest and information. The author, who is well informed, has decided convictions on the subject of our history. He does full justice to Virginia's greatest statesman, Thomas Jefferson, and claims that the nullification proposed by him in 1800 against the alien and sedition laws was patriotism, because it meant the preservation of liberty within the United States themselves. The theory of the book seems to be "Independent States within the Union," and these States have the right of self-defence to any extent, short of secession, which is self-destruction. He claims that all sections of the country have, at different times, appealed to the principle of nullification, and he seems to contend that the right of the remedy is to be determined by the righteousness of the application. Hence the author condemns the South in 1861, not because of its adoption of nullification, but because of its applying the remedy in a wrong cause. I must regret that in dealing with the slavery issue Mr. Powell has seen fit to resurrect all the old "fakes" of the abolitionists, most of which are to be relied on as little as the newspaper "fakes" in reference to Cuba. I protest against his applying the term "servile" to describe the poor people of the South. They were anything but "servile," they were, in fact, a delightful contrast to the truculent, fawning menials that are ordered about by their first names in the English and the Northern cities. In the South, before the war, if the rich men by means of their slaves were independent of the poor, the poor had nothing to ask of the rich. And so even to-day in the South, the white man, no matter what his poverty, has to be addressed as "Mister," and would resent any other mode of addressing him. As far back as 1790 the Marquis de Chastellux wrote that "a Virginian never resembles a European peasant; he is always a freeman, and participates in the government," etc. In Congress in 1842 (*Congress Globe*, 1841-'42, p. 173), Henry A. Wise said that "wherever black slavery existed, there was found at least equality among the white population." This statement was correct, for slavery of the blacks made *race*, and not rank or riches the great distinction in society. The spirit of independence pervaded all classes of whites; so while slavery had many sins, that of servility among the whites was one it was not chargeable with. In the same spirit I must protest against Mr. Powell characterizing Mr. Buchanan as a "wobbler" in comparison with Mr. Lincoln. If history can produce a greater "wobbler" than Lincoln, I would like to know the man. It is a matter of familiar history that Lincoln wobbled from March 4 to April 6, 1861, now from a peace policy to a war policy, now from one faction of his cabinet to another, now from Chase to Seward. Though Seward

had assured the Confederate Commissioners that "faith was to be kept with them," and the troops withdrawn from Fort Sumter, Lincoln, instead of promptly evicting him from office, retained him, thereby making Seward's guilt his own. In marked contrast with the able selections of Jefferson Davis of such splendid generals as Lee, Johnston, Jackson, and others, Lincoln wobbled from one incompetent to another, from Pope to Burnside, and from Burnside to Hooker. George B. McClellan was suspected, and Grant, Sherman, and Thomas were a casual development, due to no particular recognition at the first. Lincoln wobbled in his emancipation programme, finally enunciating it as a war measure, with perfect indifference as to whether or not it caused the horrors of a general massacre of the whites. Any other result, after the experience in Haiti and Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia, both of which involved the ruthless destruction of women and children, he was unwarranted in expecting.

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Address the Editor.